

WORKMEN'S ADVOCATE

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THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

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CIRCULATE THE "WORK-  
MEN'S ADVOCATE."

Our report of the Chicago Con-  
vention, published elsewhere in this issue,  
need not be supplemented by any com-  
ment. The large amount of space it  
occupies has inevitably reduced our edi-  
torial columns to a minimum, and  
otherwise interfered with our usual  
"make-up." But we trust that it will  
be read with interest and profit, not  
only by Socialists, but by many who  
have not heretofore understood our  
principles and methods. Subscribers of  
the WORKMEN'S ADVOCATE will advance  
the cause by circulating this number  
among their friends.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

The schools throughout the State of  
New York are full, and in many cities  
the accommodations are taxed to the  
utmost; and yet the proportion of chil-  
dren attending school decreased from  
about 70 per cent. in 1870 to less than 60  
per cent. at the present time.

The Compulsory Education Act of  
1874 will be a fraud and a farce so long  
as the authorities upon which devolves  
the task of enforcing its provisions fail  
to provide the necessary buildings and  
teachers. It should, moreover, be so  
amended as to confer upon those author-  
ities the right, or rather the duty, of  
providing the children of poor people  
with meals and clothing, as stated in  
the "Demands" of the Socialist Labor  
Party. It is plain enough that educa-  
tion cannot be made compulsory until  
it is placed within the reach of the  
poorest.

To do this in New York State would  
probably necessitate an average increase  
of about 20 per cent. in the appropri-  
ations now made for educational pur-  
poses. But money, to be sure, is not  
wanting in this great State; and pre-  
cisely because all taxes are in the end  
paid by Labor, the working people have  
a right to demand that they shall not  
be deprived of the benefit of public edu-  
cation. They will properly object to  
any expenditure, by the State or the  
National Government, for the building  
of armories and the drilling of dudes,  
with a view to the establishment of a  
reign of terror and the suppression of  
strikes by force. But there is no tax  
that they will pay more gracefully than  
that which it may be necessary to im-  
pose for the rigid enforcement of the  
Compulsory Education law.

We boast of the liberality of our var-  
ious governments—municipal, State  
and national—in educational matters.  
But how dare we do so while illiteracy  
is on the increase throughout the land?  
Even in New England, according to an  
official statement of recent date, thou-  
sands of boys and girls who have passed  
the limit of their school life are yearly

going out into the world unable to read  
and write.

There are in this country eighteen  
million children and youths, who in ten  
years will be the nation. About eleven  
millions of these are enrolled in private  
and public schools; but six millions only  
constitute the average attendance, while  
seven millions are growing in absolute  
ignorance of the English alphabet. The  
number of people over 21 years of age  
who some years ago could not write was  
4,200,000, of whom 2,056,000 were whites.  
In commenting upon these incredible fig-  
ures, Senator Blair remarked: "Before  
another census we shall have passed the  
line, and there will be more children in  
this country out of the schools than in  
them; and before half a century is over,  
ignorance and its consequences will un-  
questionably have overthrown the re-  
public."

In spite of this well-grounded warning  
Congress has to this day obstinately re-  
fused to pass a general education bill.  
Senator Beck, in opposing the principle  
of government interference, said: "This  
is not a paternal government. I believe  
that whenever we impose taxes, even for  
education in the States, we are encour-  
aging extravagance, fostering corrup-  
tion, and impairing the manhood, virtue  
and independence of the people."

Some ingenious sophists have even  
gone further than Mr. Beck, and denied  
the State itself the right of taxation for  
the support of any school whatever.

Fortunately, we have come to an age  
when, upon moral and political grounds,  
public education is a recognized func-  
tion of government. This principle, es-  
sentially socialistic as it is, has been  
everywhere granted, although a few  
countries only have carried it to its first  
logical conclusion—the compulsory ac-  
quirement of primary knowledge. When-  
ever centralization prevails there  
seems to be no other obstacle to the en-  
actment of compulsory laws against  
ignorance than the difficulty of enforce-  
ment because of individual or public  
poverty.

In this country the same difficulty  
does not exist, for the nation is rich  
enough to provide any means required  
for the education of the poorest. But  
there are men like Senator Beck, who  
claim "State Rights" and "Individual  
Liberty" in the support of ignorance.  
To such men we reply: There are no  
rights without duties; and where is the  
duty corresponding to the individual  
right of a father to raise his child in  
ignorance, or to the collective right of a  
State to keep its citizens in intellectual  
darkness?

Human knowledge is public property,  
unlike any other kind of property, how-  
ever, in this respect, that its value,  
when distributed, is multiplied by the  
exact number of those among whom it  
is distributed. Upon economic grounds,  
therefore, as well as upon the moral  
and political ones which have hereto-  
fore been exclusively taken, the distri-  
bution of human knowledge is a public  
duty corresponding to the right of each  
citizen in the public domain. This duty  
may be assigned to the city, greater  
than the citizen; or to the State, greater  
than the city; but the nation, greater  
than all, is bound to see that "the right  
of the child" is preserved.

ONE MORE FACT.

It has just been calculated by statis-  
tical authorities that the average decline  
in the prices of products, taken as a  
whole, has been twenty per cent. in the  
last thirty years. This is considerably  
less than was generally supposed, and  
much less than it should be if we con-  
sider the great improvements that have  
taken place in the methods of produc-  
tion and transportation during that pe-  
riod. Investigation shows, furthermore,  
that the decline affected but little the  
necessaries of life, some of which are  
even dearer now than they were in 1860;  
so that the improvement in the condi-  
tion of the working classes, of which we  
hear so much in connection with the

progress of machinery, the increase of  
production and the decline of prices,  
would be insignificant, even if employ-  
ment were as steady as it was thirty  
years ago. Add to this that compul-  
sory idleness and the increase of rent  
offset the increase of wages, and we may  
see plainly that, whatever improvement  
there may have been at certain times  
since 1860, we are at present passing  
through a period of retrogression.

CAPITALISTIC ECONOMY.

The strenuous efforts of governments  
everywhere to extend the commercial  
relations of their respective countries is  
in striking contrast to their absolute  
lack of effort in the matter of domestic  
trade. While nine-tenths of the people  
in England, France, Germany and Amer-  
ica would readily double and treble and  
quadruple their consumption of do-  
mestic produce and manufactures if  
they were either paid higher wages or  
merely allowed by King Capital to em-  
ploy themselves, the rulers of these  
countries are discussing the means of  
opening markets for furs in the Arctic  
regions and outlets for overcoats under  
the tropics, "that the workers may have  
work." Stupid as this is on its very  
face, the reason for it is obvious enough.  
The volume of domestic trade might be  
indefinitely multiplied, but on condition  
that the wages of labor were correspon-  
dingly increased; and to this the capi-  
talists object. But an expansion of the  
foreign trade is chiefly for the benefit  
of the monopolists.

THE CONVENTION.

(Continued from first page).

EVENING SESSION.

At 8 p. m. of the same day, when the  
convention met in Greif's Hall, every  
delegate and proxy was in his seat. A  
committee of the Chicago American  
Section had notified the chairman of its  
presence, and the few benches in the  
rear of that hall were chiefly occupied  
by members of that Section, whose pro-  
found interest in the coming proceed-  
ings was evinced by marked attention  
and unusual stillness.

The roll having been called and the  
minutes read, Delegate Sanial made his  
report, which was very brief, and gave  
in substance the facts above related.  
He laid considerable emphasis upon the  
hostility to Organized Labor which the  
declaration of Comrade Morgan be-  
trayed, but in conclusion observed that  
a committee of the Section, headed by  
Morgan himself, was in attendance, and  
he sincerely hoped that this committee  
might make here a statement calculated  
to dispel or greatly modify the impres-  
sion inevitably conveyed by words  
hastily spoken, perhaps—in relation to  
the position of the Chicago Section to-  
wards the economic organizations of  
labor.

Upon motion the report was received  
and the committee of the Chicago Sec-  
tion was then invited to address the  
convention. Comrade Morgan said in  
substance:

"I deeply regret that this report was  
received, and therefore made a part  
of the record of this convention before I  
had an opportunity of correcting it, for  
it is a violent misrepresentation. We are  
not opposed to Organized Labor, and  
I have here a written declaration which  
I will read and leave with you, stating  
our exact position:

"To the Socialist Convention, Greeting:

"In answer to your kind invitation to  
send a representative to your con-  
vention, we present the following reply:

"1. We feel committed by our partici-  
pation in the convention of the 28th  
until the party by referendum has  
passed upon its action.

"2. We do not believe it proper to  
accept your invitation, for the reason  
that persons, not members of the party,  
who have been and are opposed to the  
principles and tactics of the party as laid  
down in the official programme, are al-  
ready admitted as members of your  
convention.

"3. Because the admission of repre-  
sentatives of alleged reorganized Sec-  
tions is in violation of the fundamental  
principles of social and political organi-  
zation.

"4. Because the change in the policy  
of the party, as illustrated by the last  
two issues of the WORKMEN'S ADVOCATE,  
issued under the management of the  
Board of Supervision, is a violation  
of the party tactics and a departure  
from the position of the party that can  
only be properly made by a party con-  
gress or majority vote of the party.

"In conclusion, and for the purpose of  
being properly understood, we present  
the following in reference to the party  
and trade unions.

"We recognize trade unions as a nat-  
ural effort of the workers to protect  
themselves from the encroachments of  
the capitalist, and that it is to the in-  
terest of all workers to be members of  
those organizations, but that, while the  
Socialist party aids and encourages the  
trade unions, it shall never be made  
subordinate to them, or its policy dic-

tated solely in consideration for such  
organizations, because they are but a  
small minority of the 65 millions of peo-  
ple who require our attention in the  
United States.

"T. J. MORGAN.  
"G. A. HOEHN."

In his verbal amplifications of this  
statement Comrade Morgan became  
very bitter and personal against some  
of the delegates and proxies who reside  
in Chicago, Grotkau and Frese in partic-  
ular bearing the brunt of his invective.  
He said that the pending troubles had  
been caused and fostered by business in-  
terests and personal considerations, and  
when requested to be specific in his de-  
nunciations, he asserted that the policy  
of the party was subordinated to the  
business interests of the N. Y. Volks-  
zeitung, the Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung  
and their respective employees. He did  
not believe that men who, like Shev-  
itch, Sanial, Christensen and Rappa-  
port, on one side, or Rosenberg and  
Busche on the other side, who earned  
their living by writing for labor papers,  
should be given a voice in the councils  
of the party, and thus be allowed to dic-  
tate its policy. He had nothing to say  
against Shevitch and Sanial person-  
ally, and in the Rosenberg convention  
he had opposed, as improperly made,  
the charges brought against these two  
comrades. Morgan was here interrupted  
by Shevitch, who asked him if he had  
introduced a resolution denouncing this  
method of making charges, so that his  
protest might be published as widely as  
the charges were. He replied that he was  
sorry he had not; this effective method of  
proceeding had not suggested itself to his  
mind. In conclusion, he reiterated the  
announcement that the Chicago Ameri-  
can Section would take no further part  
in the dispute, and that its future posi-  
tion would be determined by future de-  
velopments.

Delegate Sanial made a brief reply.  
Comrade Morgan, he said, was strongly  
addicted to the use of the term "viol-  
ent." In speaking of the ADVOCATE at  
the meeting of the Section he had  
denounced its policy as a "violent de-  
parture from socialism." Now he de-  
nounced the report of his own language  
as a "violent misrepresentation." The  
report was on record, and so was the  
carefully prepared statement in writing  
delivered by Comrade Morgan. Both  
agreed substantially, and the cautious  
statement was a practical confirmation  
of the "violent" report.

Delegate Shevitch followed with  
one of his characteristic speeches. In  
the course of his remarks he said it was  
high time to brand as they deserved the  
demagogical insinuations of would be  
leaders against the "salaried" editors of  
labor papers. There were two ways of  
contributing pecuniary means to the  
labor cause. One was to pay ten cents  
a month; the other was to sacrifice po-  
sition, relations and friendships, and to  
contribute work at one-half or one-  
quarter of the price that would be paid  
for equivalent efforts in the service of  
the capitalist press. The books of the  
N. Y. Volkszeitung were open to the  
inspection of Comrade Morgan. He  
might see there that far from having  
received any pecuniary support from  
the party, that paper had frequently  
been called upon to pull the party out  
of the mire. He ridiculed the lofty  
declaration in Morgan's written state-  
ment that the Chicago American Sec-  
tion deemed the labor organizations,  
with their hundreds of thousands of  
wage workers, of little importance as  
compared to the sixty-five million peo-  
ple that require the attention of the  
thirty-five persons who compose that  
Section. And why was that Section so  
small in numbers? Could any reason  
be given for this lamentable fact,  
other than that people nowadays  
do not like to be ruled by a pope?  
Was not Comrade Morgan somewhat  
responsible for this state of affairs?  
The principles of socialism are in no  
danger of being perverted by this con-  
vention, but it was high time, indeed,  
that the narrow-minded policy and sui-  
cidal tactics of those who had been too  
long tolerated as leaders of the party  
were done away with and intelligent  
action substituted.

Comrade G. A. Hoehn, of the Com-  
mittee, addressed the convention in  
German, and after a reply to Shevitch  
by Morgan, in which the indecision of  
the Board of Supervision was com-  
mented upon and given as an additional  
reason for the situation in Chicago the  
committee withdrew, followed by the  
members of the American Section.

The convention resumed the discus-  
sion of the report of the Board of Super-  
vision.

MONDAY, OCT. 14.

At the opening of the morning session  
the Committee on Credentials reported  
that Comrade B. Berlyn claimed admit-  
tance as delegate of the reorganized  
American Section of Chicago. As stated  
that no understanding could be arrived  
at between the convention and the old  
section, so long as the latter was under  
the control of the Rosenberg clique, the  
faithful members of the minority had  
followed the example of the Chicago  
German and New York American Sec-  
tions. They had issued an appeal and  
were fully reorganized; but, before pre-  
sented his credentials, the delegate had  
patiently waited for the foreseen result  
of the conferences between the con-  
vention and the old section. Comrade  
Berlyn was unanimously admitted. The  
debate upon the conflict in New York  
was then resumed, and with the various  
incidents to which it gave rise, consumed  
the evening session of the 14th and the  
morning of the 15th. The practical  
result of this long debate is embodied in  
some of the resolutions printed at the  
end of this report.

TUESDAY, OCT. 15.

At the evening session of the 15th the  
Committee on Platform presented its

report. The committee, said Shevitch,  
recommended various amendments to  
the social and political demands, the  
adoption of the preamble of the old  
platform, and the issue of an address to  
the people, which he proceeded to read.  
Plattberg, Seubert and Rappaport  
moved to substitute the address for the  
former preamble. Shevitch objected  
that while the address was a well-writ-  
ten and sound document, it was best in  
the present state of affairs to make no  
change. Sanial explained that the com-  
mittee had considered the advisability  
of improving the preamble of the old  
platform, which had been originally  
written in German and badly trans-  
lated into English. The result of the  
effort had been the production of the  
document that had just been read; but  
although the task of writing it had been  
imposed upon him by his colleagues  
under an exchange of views with them,  
he not only agreed with Shevitch that  
under the circumstances the old pream-  
ble should be retained, but thought that  
it was more perfect and more appropri-  
ate than the document under discussion.  
All it needed was a good translation.  
Reimer moved to accept the report of  
the committee as to the preamble. A  
long discussion followed, and Seubert's  
original motion to substitute the new  
for the old preamble was carried by a  
vote of 15 to 7. Sanial, Shevitch, Zweib-  
ler, Fellermann, Christensen, Schleyer,  
and Mrs. Greie voting in the negative.  
All the amendments proposed by the  
committee were then adopted succes-  
sively after discussion.

The platform as adopted is here pub-  
lished again, because of two short but  
important omissions in the WORKMEN'S  
ADVOCATE of last week.

THE PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the  
United States, in convention assembled,  
reasserts the inalienable right of all  
men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of  
happiness.

With the founders of the Ameri-  
can republic, we hold that the pur-  
pose of government is to secure every  
citizen in the enjoyment of this  
right; but in the light of our social con-  
ditions we hold, furthermore, that no  
such right can be exercised under a sys-  
tem of economic inequality, essentially  
destructive of life, of liberty, and of  
happiness.

With the founders of this republic  
we hold, that the true theory of  
politics is that the machinery of gov-  
ernment must be owned and controlled  
by the whole people; but in the light of  
our industrial development we hold,  
furthermore, that the true theory of  
economics is that the machinery of  
production must likewise belong to the  
people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic  
system of economics is the direct oppo-  
site of our democratic system of polit-  
ics, can plainly be traced the existence  
of a privileged class, the corruption of  
government by that class, the alienation  
of public property, public franchises  
and public functions to that class, and  
the abject dependence of the mightiest  
of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of de-  
mocracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor  
is robbed of the wealth which it alone  
produces, is denied the means of self-  
employment, and, by compulsory idleness  
in wage-slavery, is even deprived  
of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are  
thus wasted, that the plutocracy may  
rule.

Ignorance and misery with all their  
concomitant evils are perpetuated, that  
the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted  
from their humane purpose to the en-  
slavement of women and children.

Against such a system the S. L. P. once  
more enters its protest. Once more it re-  
iterates its fundamental declaration that  
private property in the natural sources  
of production and in the instruments of  
labor is the obvious cause of all eco-  
nomic servitude and political depend-  
ence; and

Whereas, the time is fast coming when,  
in the natural course of social evolu-  
tion, this system, through the destruc-  
tive action of its failures and crises on  
the one hand, and the constructive ten-  
dencies of its trusts and other capital-  
istic combinations on the other hand,  
shall have worked out its own down-  
fall; therefore, be it

Resolved, that we call upon the peo-  
ple to organize with a view to the sub-  
stitution of the co-operative common-  
wealth for the present state of plan-  
less production, industrial war and so-  
cial disorder; a commonwealth in which  
every worker shall have the free exer-  
cise and full benefit of his faculties,  
multiplied by all the modern factors of  
civilization.

We call upon them to unite with us  
in a mighty effort to gain by all prac-  
ticable means the political power.

In the meantime, and with a view to  
immediate improvement in the condi-  
tion of Labor, we present the following  
"Demands":

SOCIAL DEMANDS.

1. Reduction of the hours of labor in  
proportion to the progress of production.  
2. The United States shall obtain pos-  
session of the railroads, canals, tele-  
graphs, telephones, and all other means  
of public transportation and communi-  
cation.

3. The municipalities to obtain posses-  
sion of the local railroads, ferries, water  
works, gas works, electric plants, and  
all industries requiring municipal fran-  
chises.

4. The public lands to be declared in-  
alienable. Revocation of all land grants  
to corporations or individuals, the con-  
ditions of which have not been com-  
plied with.

5. Legal incorporation by the States  
of local Trade Unions which have no  
national organization.

6. Furthering of workmen's co-opera-  
tive productive associations by public

credit; such associations to be preferred  
in the placing of contracts for public  
works.

7. The United States to have the ex-  
clusive right to issue money.

8. Congressional legislation providing  
for the scientific management of forests  
and waterways, and prohibiting the  
waste of the natural resources of the  
country.

9. Inventions to be free to all; the  
inventors to be remunerated by the  
nation.

10. Progressive income tax and tax on  
inheritances; the smaller incomes to be  
exempt.

11. School education of all children  
under 14 years of age to be compulsory,  
gratuitous, and accessible to all by pub-  
lic assistance in meals, clothing, books,  
etc., where necessary.

12. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, con-  
spiracy, and sumptuary laws. Unab-  
ridged right of combination.

13. Official statistics concerning the  
condition of labor. Prohibition of the  
employment of children of school age  
and of the employment of female labor  
in occupations detrimental to health or  
morality. Abolition of the convict  
labor contract system.

14. All wages to be paid in lawful  
money of the United States. Equaliza-  
tion of women's wages with those of  
men where equal service is performed.

15. Laws for the protection of life  
and limb in all occupations, and an effi-  
cient employers' liability law.

POLITICAL DEMANDS.

1. The people to have the right to pro-  
pose laws and to vote upon all measures  
of importance, according to the Refer-  
endum principle.

2. Abolition of the Presidency, Vice-  
Presidency and Senate of the United  
States. An Executive Board to be es-  
tablished, whose members are to be  
elected, and may at any time be re-  
called, by the House of Representatives  
as the only legislative body. The  
States and Municipalities to adopt cor-  
responding amendments to their consti-  
tutions and statutes.

3. Municipal self-government.

4. Direct vote and secret ballots in all  
elections. Universal and equal right of  
suffrage without regard to color, creed  
or sex. Election days to be legal holi-  
days. The principle of minority repre-  
sentation to be introduced.

5. All public officers to be subject to  
recall by their respective constituencies.

6. Uniform civil and criminal law  
throughout the United States. Admin-  
istration of justice to be free of charge.  
Abolition of capital punishment.

WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY, OCT. 16-17.

The Constitution was then taken up.  
Several important amendments were  
adopted, which the lack of space does  
not permit us to give in this issue. A  
report of this part of the proceedings  
will appear in our next.

The following appeal in aid of the  
party organs was unanimously adopted  
and ordered to be printed and issued  
immediately:

"CHICAGO, Oct. 16, 1889.

"To the Members of the Party.

"The National Convention of the So-  
cialist Labor Party, assembled at Vor-  
wärts Turn Hall, Chicago, Ill., sends  
you greeting.

"To you, comrades, everywhere, the  
Convention appeals and urges you to  
take immediate and energetic action to-  
wards the support of the party jour-  
nals, the WORKMEN'S ADVOCATE and  
Der Sozialist.

"You know that Rosenberg and his  
colleagues, upon their suspension by  
the Board of Supervision, refused to  
turn over the party funds in their  
hands, and expended these moneys,  
amounting to nearly \$800, for factional  
purposes.

"The German Section of New York  
has done its very utmost to secure the  
continuance of the party journals.  
During the last four weeks the mem-  
bers of this Section have raised about  
\$1,000 for that purpose; but their means  
are now exhausted, and the convention  
feels called upon to appeal to your spirit  
of sacrifice. You are urgently requested  
to at once transmit all arrears of sub-  
scriptions and dues, and also, as far as  
possible, to send voluntary contribu-  
tions, in order to secure the continu-  
ance of the party journals.

"We trust this appeal will be promptly  
responded to. Whatever you intend  
doing, do it without delay. All remi-  
tances should be directed to B. J.  
Gretsch, 25 East Fourth street, New  
York City. With fraternal greeting,  
"THE CONVENTION, S. L. P."

The following resolutions were adopt-  
ed by the Convention in the course of  
its proceedings:

THE ROSENBERG CONFLICT.

"Resolved, That in the judgment of  
the convention the management of the  
party by the former executive was in-  
efficient and highly injurious to the  
interests of the party and of the cause;  
that the majority of the executive often  
acted arbitrarily and in disregard of the  
minority; that the editorial manage-  
ment of the party journals was prejudi-  
cial to the party, and the whole conduct  
of the executive and of the journals was  
such as to compromise the party in New  
York and vicinity and estrange from it  
the most progressive element of Organ-  
ized Labor.

"The convention is further of the opi-  
nion that the Board of Supervision was  
guilty of a lamentable neglect in not  
interfering before and putting a stop to  
this injurious management, whereby  
the present troubles might have been  
avoided.

"The convention is further of the opi-  
nion that the language of the constitu-  
tion of the party is not sufficiently pre-  
cise to give no room for differing opin-  
ions as to the theoretical right or wrong  
of the German Section, but that ener-